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The History and Sociology
of Genocidal Killings

by

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THE HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY OF GENOCIDAL KILLINGS

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INTRODUCTION: This chapter will deal with an ancient phenomenon that acquired a new name in 1944 (Lemkin).² We propose to discuss definitions and typologies of genocidal killing and to follow this with an analysis of a number of cases to illustrate and apply our conceptual framework. The deliberate killing of members of a group with the intention of destroying it has occurred too frequently throughout history and in too many parts of the world to make an exhaustive listing possible or desirable.

TERMINOLOGY: The term "genocide," although coined in 1944, acquired its most widely accepted meaning as a result of the many political compromises that had to be agreed to in order that the United Nations could pass the CONVENTION ON THE PREVENTION AND PUNISHMENT OF THE CRIME OF GENOCIDE in 1948 (Kuper, 1981). The Convention has been widely accepted and incorporated into much of the relevant literature and into the legal codes of many signatory countries. At the same time, this definition of genocide has been seriously questioned because it only protects groups that are specifically covered by it and also because it is unsatisfactory for purposes of research and comparative analysis (Drost). Definitions and typologies are essential tools for scholars who want to group together phenomena that are in some relevant respect comparable, who want to explore the situations and conditions under which they occur, and who want to generalize about the processes leading up to them and the consequences that result from them. It is for this reason that we use the following definition in this chapter:

¹We would like to acknowledge extremely useful comments on our work from Norman Cohn, Helen Fein, Leo Kuper, Franziska Shlosser, and Anton Zijderveld, whose advice we have valued even when we have sometimes begged to differ.

²In the Bibliography, all references to conceptual matters will be found under "Conceptual References". All references to cases will be found under their specific case names, with the exception of four sets of cases that are grouped under general headings: "Antiquity," "Colonialism . . . ," "The Holocaust," and "The U.S.S.R."

GENOCIDAL KILLINGS are a form of one-sided mass killing in which a state or other authority intends to destroy a group, as that group and membership in it are defined by the perpetrators.³

Because this definition leaves open the nature of the victim group, it allows the inclusion of groups that were excluded from the UN Convention. Further, it allows the inclusion of groups that had not previously been considered under the U.N. Convention as potential victim groups (e.g. the retarded, the mentally ill and the homosexuals, as in Nazi Germany, or city dwellers in Pol Pot's Cambodia) and groups that have no existence outside a perpetrator's imagination (e.g. demonic witches in western Europe and "wreckers" and "enemies of the people" in Stalin's Russia), but whose fate was no less tragic for that. The killing of combatant groups in warfare is excluded, but the one-sided killing of non-combatant groups is, of course, covered by our definition. The deliberate destruction of the culture of a group is covered by the term ETHNOCIDE. There are cases, such as some aboriginal tribes in the Americas and in Oceania, where groups have been deliberately destroyed as a result of colonial expansion without the state having intended to destroy them. These we shall refer to as GENOCIDAL MASSACRES (see HISTORY).

Our analysis of cases of genocidal killings will be presented in terms of the following typology:

TYPE I: GENOCIDAL KILLINGS that are committed in the building and maintaining of empires. The following three motives underlie the perpetrators' actions, one of them usually being dominant:

- a) to eliminate a real or potential threat,
- b) to terrorize a real or potential enemy, or
- c) to acquire and keep economic wealth.

TYPE II: GENOCIDAL KILLINGS that are committed in the building and maintaining of nation states. The following three motives underlie the perpetrators' actions, one of them usually being dominant:

- a) to eliminate a real or potential threat,
- b) to terrorize a real or potential enemy, or
- c) to implement a belief, theory, or ideology by destroying a real group, or a pseudo-group (see discussion below).

³In our work, we will continue to use the term "genocide" for the killing of the national, ethnic, racial and religious groups covered by the U.N. definition.

Type I and Type II genocidal killings, apart from distinguishing between perpetrators (empires vs. nation states), also represent a crucial distinction between types of victims and types of consequences for the perpetrator state. The victim groups in Type I are always groups outside the perpetrator's state, while the victim groups in Type II are usually within the perpetrator's state (Nazi Germany being a notable exception in that it victimized groups in its occupied territories as well). The consequences of genocidal killings of Type I were that the perpetrator realized significant material benefits from his actions, while the consequences of Type II were that the implementation of the perpetrator's belief system was only achieved at the cost to the perpetrator of enormous direct and indirect losses in human capital, losses that had grave short and long-term results for the state.

HISTORY

The first genocidal killing is lost in Antiquity. It seems improbable that any occurred when people were still nomads, if only because there were so few of them and they were very thinly scattered over large territories. After the invention of agriculture, serious warfare occurred when nomads raided settled communities to benefit from their harvest. But this did not usually lead to any large scale killing because the nomads were interested in repeating their raids. The settled people may have had better motives, but usually lacked the means to destroy the nomads.

When agricultural methods improved, especially with the invention of irrigation, and produced surpluses large enough to support city states, wars over scarce resources became more frequent. Given the methods of the day, they were rarely conclusive. The defeated party would withdraw to lick its wounds, to rebuild its resources, and to seek revenge in renewed warfare. Finally someone decided -- we do not know who -- to put an end to this by destroying the defeated enemy, not only their army and weapons, but also their women, their children, their old, and their sick. This was the first of many genocidal killings. We only have indirect evidence to support this assertion, and it is of two kinds: (1) a large number of peoples in the Fertile Crescent seem to have disappeared without leaving evidence on how they disappeared, e.g.: Amorites, Aramaeans, Cimmerians, Elamites, Kassites, Lulubaeans, Mittani, Hittites, Lydians, Parthians, Sumerians, Urartus, among others. Some of them were sold into slavery, some of them assimilated, some of them migrated, but some of them were almost certainly destroyed by killing; (2) the Old Testament description of cases where a people, including women and children, were slain, as in the case of the Amalekites, does not leave the reader with the impression that this was a previously unknown phenomenon. These cases from Antiquity seem to have been committed primarily in order to eliminate a present or future threat and thus would come under our

Type I.a. At the same time, the perpetrators would produce terror among other peoples that were real or potential rivals. Since the people that are terrorized and the people that are destroyed are not the same, both motives can coexist. The Roman destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. is probably the most famous later example of a genocidal killing to eliminate a real or potential threat, but the Romans were also interested in terrorizing their real or potential enemies. A successful destruction also means that the property and wealth of the victims is acquired by the perpetrators. Because all three motives are thus present in almost all cases, we are treating them as sub-types. In assigning concrete cases to one of the sub-types it is necessary to decide which of the three motives played a dominant role.

Although the first Type I genocidal killings were aimed at the elimination of a real or potential threat, many of the later genocidal killings had the spread of terror (Type I.b) as their major objective. There is a striking parallel between the cases of Melos (416 B.C.), Jerusalem (73 A.D.), the victims of the Mongols (13th century), and of Shaka Zulu in southern Africa (1818-1828). In each case, the perpetrator sought to demonstrate to other real or potential enemies that the price of resistance or rebellion was the destruction of the offending group. Europe's expansion into the Americas, Asia, and Africa produced a number of genocidal killings intended to acquire and keep economic wealth (Type I.c), usually in the form of land. There are strong similarities between the fate of the Pequots of New England (1637), several of the Indian tribes of Virginia (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries) and the Hereros of South West Africa (1904-1907). In contrast, little evidence of genocidal killings exists in the early South American mines and plantations, where Europeans needed a large labour supply.

Very extensive killings resulted from European expansion when frontier settlers embarked on campaigns to destroy the native occupants of the land. Such devastations were often opposed by governments, but their feeble efforts to protect the natives were overwhelmed by the settlers' persistent attempts to annihilate their aboriginal neighbours. These were cases of genocidal massacre. Among its victims were the Caribs, the Tasmanians, the Beothuks of Newfoundland, several Indian tribes of California, and some of the tribes of the Brazilian Amazon. However, a far larger number of natives were the victims of disease, devastation of their environment, alcohol, and forced labour under lethal conditions.

Although Type II genocidal killings are a modern phenomenon perpetrated by nation-states, many of the methods used were developed during two transitional cases that happened long ago.

The Cathars were a heretical group in the Languedoc in the twelfth and thirteenth century that gained widespread support not only

among the common people, but also among the aristocracy, especially at the court of the Count of Toulouse. After vain efforts to preach to them, the Pope called for a crusade that became known as the Albigensian Crusade. This transitional case connects our two types, because from the point of view of the King of France it was an opportunity to expand his realm, while from the point of view of the Pope it was necessary to eliminate heretics who did not recognize his authority. This case is also important because persecution by torture, forced confessions, and guilt by association, leading to imprisonment and death, have become standard methods in many genocidal processes of the twentieth century.

An even more important transitional case is the Great Witch-Hunt of Europe because the victim groups here were an invention of the perpetrators. Its thousands of victims were burned at the stake not as witches, but for demonic witchcraft, i.e.: for conspiracy with the devil. Many people doubted it at the time, and everybody today doubts that there ever was such a conspiracy, that a coven of witches ever met the Devil on a mountain to plot against God, or to have sexual intercourse with him. However, although neither the group nor the conspiracy it was accused of had any reality in verifiable fact, the results were real enough: the accused were burnt at the stake. This innovation in the history of genocidal killings makes it important to distinguish in Type II.c between:

- real victim groups, regardless of whether the accusations against them were true or not, and
- pseudo-groups of victims, that can be identified only after a perpetrator labels them as such.

The question arises as to why a perpetrator would invent a pseudo-group of victims when real groups are always readily at hand. Christina Lerner has suggested that the victimization of a pseudo-group for a pseudo-conspiracy serves to legitimate a new regime that is trying to impose a new discipline on a recalcitrant population. A real group would not serve this purpose nearly as well because it might be able to defend itself, because it might be able to enlist the support of sympathizers, and because its victimization might thus threaten the unity of the realm. We suspect that Stalin knew exactly what he was doing when he labeled his victims "enemies of the people" and "wreckers". The research on this hypothesis remains to be done, but it is challenging in the light of the number of twentieth century genocidal killings that have been perpetrated by new regimes against pseudo-groups that are accused of pseudo-offences.

All of the Type II genocidal killings, with the exception of some early transitional cases, occurred in the twentieth century. Since they are dealt with in several other chapters in this

volume, we shall be very brief and confine ourselves to only a few typological remarks. Among the early transitional cases, in addition to the Albigensian Crusade and the Great Witch-Hunt, were the slaughter of the non-Christian inhabitants of Antioch and Jerusalem during the Crusades and the persecutions of the Marranos and Moriscos by the Inquisition in Spain. These are all transitional cases involving religious persecution and thus have important characteristics in common with Type II.c. Other cases that fit into Type II.c are: the Armenian victims of Pan-Turkic ideology and the Jews and the Gypsies who became the victims of Nazi race theories. Victim groups who were attacked to eliminate real or perceived threats (Type II.a) include: the educated and elite groups among the Hutu in Burundi and in what became Bangladesh, the army and party elites during Stalin's purge years, as well as several nationality groups in the southern USSR at the end of World War II. Finally, there are several cases where the victim groups were destroyed in order to terrorize a real or potential enemy or opposition (Type II.b): communists in Indonesia, political opponents in Equatorial Guinea, rebellious groups in northern Ethiopia, the peasantry in the Ukraine, as well as the "wreckers" and the "enemies of the people" during Stalin's purges. Also in the twentieth century, isolated survivals of Type I.c cases have been reported, particularly in South America, where colonial expansion in search of resources still endangers indigeneous peoples, though the colonizers have by now become nation-states with large, yet unexploited, hinterlands.⁴

PROBLEMS OF RESEARCH

Investigations into the history of genocidal killings have only just begun, and are hampered by a series of daunting problems:

- In both contemporary and historical accounts, there has been a collective denial of events that were not a source of pride and fame, although the level of denial has fluctuated with the ethic of the day. From the rise of the nation-state until the end of the Second World War, the triumph of Enlightenment values in public attitudes has increased the level of such denial.
- For the early periods of human strife, we shall have to develop an archeology of genocide if we are ever to find out what happened to peoples that have disappeared.

"For a much more detailed presentation of our analysis, the interested reader will have to await our forthcoming volume on THE HISTORY AND SOCIOLOGY OF GENOCIDAL KILLINGS.

- When evidence is available, it comes either from the victims or from the perpetrators: in the rare cases where it comes from both sides, the discrepancies are often dramatic.
- In the nature of the event under study, underreporting would be expected, but overreporting also has occurred.
- Finally, modern totalitarian regimes have developed a high degree of efficiency in controlling access to information and maintaining secrecy.

WHAT ABOUT THE FUTURE?

Contrary to the prevailing trends in academia and in social problems movements, we do not subscribe to the theory that pessimism is the only road to wisdom. We do not believe that all twentieth century developments hasten the end of the world. At the same time, we are painfully aware of the lack of success that all of the social sciences have when they attempt to deal with the future. In fact, the recent popularity of futurology leads us to wonder whether it does not represent a retreat from the failure to explain the past and the present. The great attraction of futurology seems to be that if our statements should prove false, at least such proof will be delayed until they have been forgotten by most of our readers. With this pious hope to underpin our predictions, we dare to make the following observations:

- (1) The study of genocide is rarely, if ever, motivated by disinterested intellectual curiosity alone. In our case, one of our main motives is the hope and the conviction (the two are not the same thing) that an understanding of the social processes and social situations that are conducive to genocidal killings is a prerequisite for efforts at prevention. Given the above-mentioned problems of doing research in this complex area, an adequate understanding of the relevant social dynamics will not be easy to attain. Furthermore, we have barely begun to explore the means of prevention that might be successfully deployed once predictions are so reliable that they can be used as the basis for preventive action. These areas will require much greater scholarly resources than are presently being invested in them.
- (2) Quite independently of scholarly research, shifts have been taking place in the norms and values that deal with human life and human rights. While the speed with which these shifts are occurring is much too slow for concerned humanists, it is quite amazing if seen in historical perspective. This is not the place to examine these shifts in detail, nor their interaction with both national and international jurisprudence. However, the broad trend

seems to be clear: as the twentieth century experienced growing excesses of cruelty and brutality, a snow-balling revulsion resulted in war-crimes trials and charters of human rights, United Nations Declarations and Conventions, and investigations and publicity that discredited the perpetrators. While these developments did not have the same impact or proceed at the same speed in all parts of the world, their cumulative effect is likely to decrease the frequency and the scope of genocidal killings.

Whether this will in fact occur or not, only time will tell. In the meantime, there is no excuse for complacency. People of good will must always maintain their vigilance if human life and human rights are to attain and maintain their full potential. It is not clear that genocide can be prevented in the future, but the first lesson of its past is clear: genocides and genocidal killings in their different forms have occurred throughout most of history and recognition of this fact is essential if efforts at prevention are to succeed. Research on genocide must go forward, informed by the spirit of James Baldwin's maxim that:

Not everything that is faced can be changed; but nothing can be changed until it is faced.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Since this chapter spans almost all of history, it is possible to give only a few key references, chosen to guide the reader into a particular literature of interest. The references for the twentieth century cases are particularly limited because these cases are being dealt with much more intensively in several other chapters in this volume.

We have also prepared an introductory bibliography consisting of over 400 items, which may be obtained by writing to the Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, Concordia University, 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, Quebec, Canada H3G 1M8.

CONCEPTUAL REFERENCES

Arendt, Hannah (1958). The Origins of Totalitarianism. New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich. 527 pp. [First published in 1951]

This is one of the classic works on the rise of the nation state and its totalitarian tendencies.

Bauer, Yehuda (1984). The place of the Holocaust in contemporary history. In Frankel, Jonathan (Ed.), Studies in Contemporary Jewry, Vol. I (pp.201-224).

An important attempt to connect definitions of genocide

and the Holocaust with historical analysis of what the Holocaust was. Bauer's critique of Lemkin's work and the U.N. definition lead him to propose a continuum of mass killings of the twentieth century. He supports his concept by presenting a revised definition of genocide and offering his own definitions of auto-genocide, urbicide, and holocaust or Shoah.

Charney, Israel (Ed.) (1984). Toward the Understanding and Prevention of Genocide. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. 396 pp.

A collection of the best papers from the 1982 International Conference on the Holocaust and Genocide. The conceptual papers by Fein and Kuper deserve particular attention. Fein applies an interesting typology based on the motives of the perpetrator to a number of fictitious scenarios inspired by cases from the past.

Chorover, Stephen (1979). From Genesis to Genocide: The Meaning of Human Nature and the Power of Behavior Control. Cambridge: MIT Press. 237 pp.

In Chapter 5, "Genocide: The Apotheosis of Behavior Control," Chorover succinctly analyses the participation of psychiatrists, physicians, and scientists in the administrative mass killing of at least 275,000 German psychiatric patients between 1939 and 1945. These killings of patients deemed "unfit to live," carried out at state initiative, approved by state-appointed panels of psychiatrists, and conducted with the aid of carbon monoxide-fed gas chambers are not classified as genocide under the U.N. definition. When, by the end of 1941, many of the mental patients had been murdered by the killing experts, the specialists were ordered to new locations in the East, where they turned their attention to Jews, Gypsies, and others condemned to death for the sake of the master race.

Dadrian, Vahkan (1975). A typology of genocide. International Review of Modern Sociology, 5, 201-212.

A pioneer attempt to develop a sociological definition and a typology of genocide, encompassing cases from the Middle Ages to the 1960's. Dadrian's definition of genocide, emphasizing the degree and type of disparity between the power of the perpetrator group and the victim group, establishes the matrix for his five category typology. This article contains an especially interesting discussion of the problem facing researchers when they apply the modern concept of genocide as a crime to pre-modern cases. The typology of genocide suffers, however, from inconsistencies between its categories and the inclusion of cases of pure ethnocide.

Drost, Pieter N. (1959). The Crime of State. 2 vols. Leyden: A. W. Sythoff. 583 pp.

Drost strongly criticized the omission of political and other groups from the U.N. definition of genocide and predicted that governments which undertook genocidal action would dash through this gap in the definition. He proposed the redefinition of genocide as "the deliberate destruction of physical life of individual human beings by reason of their membership of any human collectivity as such," a position that anticipated elements of our own view by nearly 25 years.

Horowitz, Irving Louis (1980). Taking Lives: Genocide and State Power. 3rd edn. New Brunswick, N.J.: Transaction Books. 199 pp. [First Edition in 1976]

Explores the nexus between genocide and statecraft. Of particular interest here is his development of an eight-fold typology of states based on the extent to which they tolerate or persecute diversity and deviance: from completely permissive societies at one extreme to genocidal societies at the other extreme.

International Commission of Jurists (1973). Bangladesh. The Review, 11, 30-33.

_____ (1979). The Trial of Macias in Equatorial Guinea. Report by Alejandro Artucio. Geneva: ICJ. 61 pp.

Both items have an important bearing on proposals to extend the definition of genocide. The 1973 article presents a detailed analysis of Bangladesh's International Crimes (Tribunal) Act of 1973, introduced to permit the trial of 195 Pakistani officers held as P.O.W.s. In this act, the Bangladesh Parliament extended the definition found in the Genocide Convention to include "political groups."

The report on Macias is important for its finding that although Don Francisco Macias Nguema, the former President-for-Life and dictator of Equatorial Guinea, was responsible for "numerous and horrifying murders of political prisoners," he was innocent of the charge of genocide, in part because political groups are not covered by the U.N. definition of genocide. Artucio notes that in January 1973 the ICJ recommended that "the definition of genocide should be expanded to include acts committed with the intent to destroy, in whole or in part, a political group as such as well as national, ethnic, racial and religious groups."

Kuper, Leo (1981). Genocide: Its Political Use in the Twentieth Century. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. 255 pp.

_____ (1985). The Prevention of Genocide. New Haven & London: Yale University Press. 256 pp.

The two most important books on twentieth century genocide to-date. In Genocide, Kuper presents a comprehensive analysis of genocidal processes and motivation. He concludes his illuminating discussion of the debates that shaped the U.N. definition of genocide by reluctantly accepting the U.N. definition in the interest of encouraging it to undertake practical steps toward preventive action. Under the rubric of "Related Atrocities," Kuper also examines genocidal killings directed at political and economic groups in the Soviet Union, Indonesia, and Cambodia. Although these killings fall outside the U.N. definition of genocide, Kuper views them as legitimate candidates for inclusion under a revised U.N. definition. In his latest book, The Prevention of Genocide, Kuper's major focus is on the need for new international pressure groups, legal institutions, and agreements to facilitate positive and timely measures against genocides before they are carried to completion. He also presents a thoughtful discussion of the major obstacles to implementation of the U.N. Convention, emphasizing the interplay of state interests and values.

Lang, Berel (1984-1985). The concept of genocide. The Philosophical Forum, 16, (1 and 2), 1-18.

In this sensitive essay, Lang seeks to elaborate the qualities that define the essence of genocide, using the Holocaust as his model.

Lemkin, Raphael (1944). Axis Rule in Occupied Europe. Washington, D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 674 pp.

The now classic statement by the man who coined the term "genocide" and who was instrumental in getting the U.N. to adopt a convention against it. Lemkin carefully distinguishes between mass murder, denationalization, and genocide. His primary concern emerges from this book and his later writings as the prevention of the deliberate biological destruction of "nations" or ethnic groups, which he regarded as the building blocks of world culture. Lemkin's definition of genocide, reflected in the U.N. Convention, is limited to national, racial, religious, and ethnic groups. As Yehuda Bauer has already noted, there are some interesting contradictions between Lemkin's definition and what he actually wrote about in this book. See the Bauer chapter cited earlier in this section.

Porter, Jack (Ed.) (1982). Genocide and Human Rights: A Global Anthology. Washington, D.C.: University Press of America. 353 pp.

A collection of papers on twentieth century cases, with useful bibliographies. His introduction elaborates a conceptual framework that differs from our own and that we do not agree with.

Savon, Hervé (1972). Du cannibalisme au génocide. Paris: Hachette. 248 pp.

This is one of the early attempts to devise a typology of genocide. While he emphasizes that it is the intent to exterminate that distinguishes genocide from simple massacre, he also cautions that intent is more important for the moralist than for the sociologist, whose problem is to isolate the particular set of forces that lead to genocide. We do not think that intent can be omitted, even by the sociologist.

Whitaker, Ben (1985). Revised and Updated Report on the Question of the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide. United Nations Economic and Social Council, Commission on Human Rights (E.CN.4.Sub.2.1985.6: 2 July 1985). 62 pp.

Whitaker, a U.N. Special Rapporteur, warns that "In an era of ideology, people are killed for ideological reasons." He recommends expanding the definition of genocide in the U.N. Convention to protect political, economic, and sexual or social groups. If a consensus cannot be reached, he advocates making a revised definition part of an additional optional protocol.

ANTIQUITY

Ceram, C. W. (1980). Gods, Graves, and Scholars: The Story of Archeology. Toronto: Bantam Books. 515 pp. [First edition in 1949]

Bury, J. B.; Cook, S. A.; & Adcock, F. E. (Eds.) (1970) The Cambridge Ancient History. Vol.3. The Assyrian Empire. Cambridge: At The University Press.

Macqueen, J. G. (1975). The Hittites and their Contemporaries in Asia Minor. London: Thames and Hudson. 206 pp.

Saggs, H. W. F. (1969). The Greatness that was Babylon: A Survey of the Ancient Civilization of the Tigris-Euphrates Valley. New York: Frederick A. Praeger. 562 pp.

The Bible. (1967). Translated out of the original tongues by the commandment of King James the first anno 1611. New York: AMS Press.

All of these books deal with the Fertile Crescent and its peoples. The multi-volume Cambridge Ancient History is the most comprehensive. Both the texts and the accompanying maps refer to great numbers of peoples who appear and disappear on the stage of history. Often it is not clear where they came from, and even more often it is not clear where they disappeared

to. The Bible also, in addition to the Amalekites, mentions many peoples that later disappear, without telling us how they disappeared.

THE ARMENIANS IN TURKEY

Hovannisian, Richard G. (1967). Armenia on the Road to Independence: 1918. Berkeley: University of California Press. 384 pp.

_____. (1971). The Republic of Armenia. Vol.I. The First Year, 1918-1919. Berkeley: University of California Press. 547 pp.

Trumpener, Ulrich (1968). Germany and the Ottoman Empire: 1914-1918. Princeton: Princeton University Press. 433 pp.

Hovannisian is the most authoritative scholar on the genocide of the Armenians in 1915 and the best starting point for the interested reader. See his chapter 4 in the present volume for details and for a discussion of revisionist history that denies that the genocide took place. Trumpener is cited here because he is relevant to an examination of the costs that a perpetrator is prepared to incur in order to carry out an ideological genocide. The completion of the Berlin-Baghdad railroad was considered crucial to the Central Powers' war effort. The majority of the workers on the railroad were Armenians. In spite of management's pleading, they were deported and the railroad was not completed in time to be used during the war.

BANGLADESH

International Commission of Jurists (1972). The Events in East Pakistan. Study by the secretariat. Geneva: ICJ.

_____. Also see ICJ listing in "Conceptual Materials." Levak, Albert E. (1975). Discrimination in Pakistan: National, Provincial, Tribal. In Veenhoven, Willem A. (Ed.), Case Studies on Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms: A World Survey. Vol.I.(pp. 281-308). The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff.

Mascarenhas, Anthony (1971). The Rape of Bangladesh. Delhi: Vikas Publications. 168 pp.

Satyaprakesh (Compiler and Editor) (1976). Bangla Desh: A Select Bibliography. Gurgaon: Indian Documentation Service. 218 pp.

Levak, Mascarenhas, and the ICJ study will introduce the reader to the human destruction that accompanied the birth of a new nation. The genocidal killings by the West Pakistan army of the Bangladeshi separatist leadership and of the educated groups in East Pakistan in order to terrorize the survivors into submission is one of the rare cases when a genocidal killing

failed to achieve its objective.

BURUNDI

Greenland, Jeremy (1976). Ethnic Discrimination in Rwanda and Burundi. In Veenhoven, Willem A. (Ed.), Vol.IV (pp. 95-133), listed under "Bangladesh".

Lemarchand, René & Martin, David (1974). Selective Genocide in Burundi. London: Minority Rights Group. Report No.20.

Meisler, Stanley (1976). Holocaust in Burundi, 1972. In Veenhoven, Willem A. (Ed.), Vol.V (pp. 227-238), listed under "Bangladesh".

Burundi is a classic case of conflict over and control of power and privilege between two ethnic groups. As the Tutsi saw their rule of the country threatened by upwardly mobile Hutu, they destroyed their political opponents and most of the educated Hutu in the civil service and the professions. While our conceptual framework allows the perpetrator to define the group, Lemarchand, who accepts the UN definition, solves the definitional problem by using the term "selective genocide" for this case, which does not strictly fit the UN definition. For more detail refer to chapter 7 in this volume by Leo Kuper.

CAMBODIA

Etcheson, Craig (1984). The Rise and Demise of Democratic Kampuchea. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. 300 pp.

Kiernan, Ben (1985). How Pol Pot Came to Power: A History of Communism in Kampuchea, 1930-1975. London: Verso.

These books represent the first efforts by scholars to produce monographs on the Cambodian disaster, in which as many as 2 million out of 7 million Cambodians died. This event involved the state-organized murder of political opponents, "class enemies," and even persons guilty of the crime of living in cities stocked with large quantities of western manufactured goods. Despite the scale and the pre-meditation of the killing, the Khmer Rouge killings can only be called a genocide under the U.N. Convention because two relatively small groups -- the ethnic Cham and the Buddhist priests -- were targetted for destruction.

Both books suffer from limitations on access to sources, but they provide valuable information about the history of the Communist movement in Cambodia and the probable nature of the lethal struggle within the Kampuchean Communist Party that led to the genocidal killings. Etcheson is more critical than Kiernan of the Khmer Rouge and the Vietnamese. He reproduces the full text of the constitution of Democratic Kampuchea, a chilling

document. For a more detailed discussion, see chapter 6 by David Hawk.

CARTHAGE, 146 B.C.

Adcock, F.E. (1946). 'Delenda est Carthago.' Cambridge Historical Journal, 8, 117-128.

Astin, Alan E. (1967). Scipio Aemilianus. London: Oxford University Press. 374 pp.

_____ (1978). Cato the Censor. London: Oxford University Press. 371 pp.

Harris, William V. (1979). War and Imperialism in Republican Rome: 327-70 B.C. Oxford: Clarendon Press. 291 pp.

Sherwin-White, A. N. (1980) Rome the aggressor? A review essay. Journal of Roman Studies, 70, 177-181.

Warmington, B.H. (1969). Carthage. 2nd edn. London: Robert Hale. 272 pp.

Recovering, following two titanic wars with Rome, the Carthaginians rejected Rome's hysterical demand that they move inland, abandoning the North African coast and their profitable trade. When Carthage chose to fight instead, Rome wiped the city off the face of the earth in the Third Punic War. Perhaps 50,000 out of 200,000 Carthaginians survived and were sold into slavery.

Adcock and many other modern authors dismiss economic motives and emphasize the Romans' gnawing fear about the security of their empire. Sherwin-White argues that Rome's "neurosis of fear" was rooted in real difficulties that emerged when the demands of empire began to outstrip Rome's ability to maintain a favourable balance of strength against its rivals. Both authors believe that Rome destroyed Carthage to eliminate a rival, as well as to instill terror in others. Astin makes the case that the revival of Carthage gave Rome serious grounds for its fears. Harris rejects Astin's theory and contends that Carthage was destroyed to satisfy the Roman aristocracy's hunger for power, glory and booty. This case is a prime candidate for scholars interested in developing an archeology of genocide.

THE CATHARS

Hamilton, Bernard (1974). The Albigensian Crusade. London: The Historical Association. 40 pp.

Madaule, Jacques (1967). The Albigensian Crusade. Translated by Barbara Wall. New York: Fordham University Press. 177 pp.

Oldenbourg, Zoé (1961). Massacre at Montségur: A History of the Albigensian Crusade. New York: Pantheon. 420 pp.

Strayer, Joseph R. (1971). The Albigensian Crusades. New York: Dial Press. 201 pp.

Wakefield, Walter L. (1974). Heresy, Crusade and Inquisition in Southern France, 1100-1250. London: Allen & Unwin. 288 pp.

The heresy of the Cathars and the Albigensian Crusade in the late Middle Ages generated a huge literature and many divergent interpretations. The only aspect on which there is no controversy at all is that the Crusade was successful in destroying the Cathars. For the general reader, the non-technical account by Oldenbourg provides the easiest access to a very complex literature. The fact that this book is a bestseller in the south of France indicates that resentment against Paris has not disappeared after hundreds of years.

COLONIALISM SINCE 1492 AND ITS INDIGENOUS VICTIMS

Bridgman, Jon (1981). The Revolt of the Hereros. Berkeley: University of California Press. 200 pp.

Canny, Nicholas P. (1973). The ideology of English colonization: from Ireland to America. William and Mary Quarterly, 30, (4), 575-598.

Chanaiwa, David Shingirai (1980). The Zulu revolution: state formation in a pastoralist society. African Studies Review, 23, (3), 1-20.

Cook, Sherburne F. (1976a). The Indian Population of New England in the Seventeenth Century. Berkeley: University of California Press. 91 pp.

_____ (1976b). The Conflict between the California Indians and White Civilization. Berkeley: University of California Press. 522 pp.

Cook, Sherburne F. & Borah, Woodrow (1971 & 1974). Essays in Population History: Mexico and the Caribbean. 2 vols. Berkeley: University of California Press. 516 pp.

Davis, Shelton (1977). Victims of the Miracle: Development and the Indians of Brazil. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 205 pp.

Drechsler, Horst (1980). "Let Us Die Fighting": The Struggle of the Herero and the Nama against German Imperialism (1885-

- 1915). Trans. by Bernd Zollner. London: Zed Press.
[First published in 1966]
- Gibson, Charles (1964). The Aztecs under Spanish Rule: A History of the Indians of the Valley of Mexico, 1519-1810. Stanford: Stanford University Press. 657 pp.
- Hemming, John (1978). Red Gold: The Conquest of the Brazilian Indians. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 677 pp.
- Nash, Gary (1972). The image of the Indian in the southern colonial mind. William and Mary Quarterly, 29, (2), 197-230.
- Münzel, Mark (1976). The Man-Hunts: Aché Indians in Paraguay. In Veenhoven, Willem A. (Ed.), Vol. IV (pp.351-403), listed under "Bangladesh".
- Omer-Cooper, J.D. (1966). The Zulu Aftermath: A Nineteenth Century Revolution in Bantu Africa. Evanston: Northwestern University Press. 208 pp.
- Pearce, Roy H. (1952). The 'ruines of mankind': the Indian and the Puritan mind. Journal of the History of Ideas, 13, 200-217.
- Robson, Lloyd (1983). A History of Tasmania, Vol. I: Van Dieman's Land from the Earliest Times to 1855. Melbourne: Melbourne University Press. 632 pp.
- Ryan, Lyndall (1981). The Aboriginal Tasmanians. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press. 315 pp.
- Salisbury, Neal (1982). Manitou and Providence: Indians, Europeans, and the Making of New England, 1500-1643. New York: Oxford University Press. 316 pp.
- Sheehan, Bernard (1980). Savagism and Civility: Indians and Englishmen in Colonial Virginia. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 258 pp.
- Simmons, William S. (1981). Cultural bias in the New England Puritans' perception of Indians. The William and Mary Quarterly, 38, (1), 56-72.
- Upton, Leslie F. S. (1977). The extermination of the Beothuks of Newfoundland. Canadian Historical Review. 58, 133-153.
- Walter, Eugene Victor (1969). Terror and Resistance: A Study of Political Violence. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 385 pp.

The term "colonialism," as used in this section, refers

to three distinct sets of conditions: the founding of colonies that were incorporated into an empire; the expansion of a state by conquering neighbouring territories and peoples; and a state policy of treating native inhabitants like dependent colonial subjects. Certain relevant cases -- the Athenians, the Romans, the Mongols, Nazi Germany, and the Soviet Union -- are treated in other parts of this chapter and elsewhere in this book, but others must be omitted for reasons of space. Borah, Cook, Gibson and Henning meticulously examine the demographic consequences of the European conquest of the New World, concluding that the decimation of the Indians was primarily the result of European and African epidemic diseases spread by the colonists' hunger for labour and the missionaries' search for converts. Canny finds that the secular ideology developed by Englishmen to justify their colonization of Ireland and their slaughter of numbers of the Irish played an important part in the Elizabethan claim to moral respectability for American colonization and massacres of native peoples. Cook (1976a) estimates the Indian population of seventeenth century New England, nation by nation, while Pearce, Salisbury, and Simmons demonstrate that, in their thought, the New England Puritans equated the Indians with the devil and demonic witchcraft, a myth that provided a rationale for the destruction or enslavement of entire populations of Indians. Sheehan and Nash report that settlers in Colonial Virginia evolved an image of the natives much like that found in New England. Cook (1976b) has also examined the decimation of the California Indians in the periods of Spanish and United States rule. He concludes that once again alien microbes were most responsible for massive population losses among the Indians, but he also presents new evidence underlining the contribution to the destruction of the fabric of Indian societies of frequent kidnappings, rapes and killings by American settlers. Upton's account of the destruction of the Beothuks reveals a similar pattern. Turning to our own time, Münzel's account implicates the government of Paraguay in genocidal killings aimed at destroying the Aché Indians.

A number of native peoples in Asia and Oceania, as well as the Americas, have been the victims of genocidal massacres. Of these, the Tasmanians are probably the best known. Robson's is a scholarly presentation of the standard history of Tasmania, including the details of the death of the last aborigine in 1876. Ryan's important work shows that the last Tasmanian did not die in 1876, but that this became a self-serving myth that legitimated ignoring the Tasmanians and their problems. Davis' account of the process that is destroying Indian peoples of the Amazon region in Brazil improves our understanding of the native population losses occurring in many parts of Central and South America as a consequence of modern road building, settler intrusions, and mining.

Genocidal killings are also associated with colonial expansion in Africa, where they were committed by both Africans and Europeans.

Shaka ruled the Zulu Kingdom from 1818 until his assassination in 1828. He conquered over 300 chiefdoms, annihilating some and fusing the members of others into one Zulu nation. In 1826, he attacked his most determined African enemies, the Ndwandwes, a nation of some 40,000 persons, ordering his soldiers to kill every last man, woman, and child. At the victorious conclusion of this war, his soldiers executed his order. Walter presents an incisive analysis of Shaka's uses of terror. Omer-Cooper describes the role in Shaka's expansion of population pressure intensified by white settlement and gives a thorough account of his rule. Chanaiwa is primarily concerned with Shaka's contribution to state formation, but he also disputes Walter's sources, criticizes Omer-Cooper's hypothesis and presents a more favourable interpretation of Shaka than Walter.

Germany waged a colonial war against the Herero people of South West Africa (modern Namibia) from 1904 to 1907. The Germans aimed at seizing land for railroads linking German ranches with the coast. Long after the Herero offered to give up, the German military commander refused to accept surrenders and turned the Hereros, including women and children, back into the desert to die of thirst and hunger. By 1911, roughly 64,000 of the 80,000 Herero people had perished. The history of this episode is covered in depth by Bridgman and Drechsler.

THE CRUSADES

Runciman, Steven (1962). A History of the Crusades. Vol. I: The First Crusade and the Foundation of the Kingdom of Jerusalem. Cambridge: At The University Press. 3 vols.

See especially for the details of the conquests and the ensuing massacres of the population of Antioch and Jerusalem.

THE HOLOCAUST

Cohn, Norman (1981). Warrant for Genocide: The Myth of the Jewish World Conspiracy and the Protocols of the Elders of Zion. Chico, CA: Scholars Press. 303 pp. [First published in 1967]

Hilberg, Raul (1985). The Destruction of the European Jews. New York: Holmes & Meier. 3 vols. Rev. Ed. 1312 pp. [First published in 1961]

Kenrick, Donald & Puxon, Gratton (1972). The Destiny of Europe's Gypsies. New York: Basic Books. 256 pp.

There exists by now a huge literature on the Holocaust. We cite here only Cohn because he details the origin and spread of the most infamous anti-semitic myth of modern times, and Hilberg because his is the classic study of the genocidal process

at the centre of the Holocaust. By contrast, there is a quite limited literature on the annihilation of the Gypsies during the Holocaust. Kenrick and Puxon's is the best book-length treatment. Much more material on the Holocaust will be found in chapter 3 in this volume by Alan Berger. The interested reader may obtain a bibliography on the Gypsies by writing to our colleague, G. Tyrnauer, Montreal Institute for Genocide Studies, Concordia University, 1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. West, Montreal, Canada, H3G 1M8.

INDONESIA

Budiardjo, Carmel (1976). The Abuse of Human Rights in Indonesia. In Veenhoven, Willem A. (Ed.), Vol. III (pp. 209-241) listed under "Bangladesh".

Crouch, Harold (1978). The Army and Politics in Indonesia. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 377 pp.

Chapters 4 and 5 in Crouch deal with the coup attempt of 1.Oct.1965 and its aftermath and present various theories about the coup. He explores the responsibility, the extent, and the estimates of victims of the ensuing massacre. He tries to give equal weight to the various interpretations of the events of which Budiardjo gives a concise summary. A good deal more detail on this case will be found in chapter 7 of the present volume by Leo Kuper.

THE INQUISITION

Guiraud, Jean (1979). The Medieval Inquisition. New York: AMS Press. 208 pp.

Kamen, Henry (1976). The Spanish Inquisition. London: White Lion Publishers. 334 pp.

Llorente, Juan Antonio (1826). History of the Spanish Inquisition. New York: G.C.Morgan. 271 pp.

Roth, Cecil (1964). The Spanish Inquisition. New York: Norton. 316 pp. [First published in 1937]

The Inquisition, which was established to eradicate the heresies of the Cathars, operated in all Roman Catholic countries, but was particularly severe in Spain. After the expulsion of the Jews and the Moslems it persecuted converted Jews who were suspected of practicing Judaism in secret (Marranos) and converted Moslems who were suspected of practicing Islam in secret (Moriscos). The question in the context of genocide studies is whether persecutions that offer a saving way out by conversion may be called genocidal. The answer depends on whether it was possible to prove that one did not still adhere to one's prior religion

in secret. Our tentative answer is that, once accused, it was probably not possible.

JAPAN

Adachi, Ken (1976). The Enemy That Never Was: The History of Japanese Canadians. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. 456pp.

Sansom, George B. (1978). A History of Japan, 1615-1867. Folkestone, Kent: Dawson. 3 vols. [First published in 1958]

Storry, G. Richard (1960). A History of Modern Japan. Middlesex: Penguin. 304 pp.

The penetration of Westerners into Japan in the seventeenth century is a little known episode. Adachi provides, in his first chapter, a terse summary of the fate of the Christians. Sansom provides much more detail on the Tokugawa period, the exclusion policy, the persecutions, and the final massacre after a revolt of mostly Christian peasants. Storry deals with the same materials, but also includes brief accounts of the two Mongol invasions, attempts which are interesting because they represent rare examples of Mongol failure.

MELOS, 416 B.C.

Ducrey, Pierre (1968). Aspects juridiques de la victoire et du traitement des vaincus. In Vernant, Jean-Pierre (Ed.), Problemes de la guerre en Grece ancienne (pp.231-243). Paris and the Hague: Mouton. 320 pp.

Littman, Robert J. (1974). The Greek Experiment: Imperialism and Social Conflict, 800-400 B.C. London: Thames & Hudson. 180 pp.

Meiggs, Russell (1972). The Athenian Empire. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 382 pp.

Thucydides. The Peloponnesian War. New York: Bantam Books. [This edition, trans. by Benjamin Jowett, pub. in 1960]

The Athenian empire depended on sea power. Lacking a large standing army, the Athenians resorted to a policy of terror. In 416 B.C., the people of the strategically-situated island of Melos in the Aegean Sea, non-belligerent allies of the Spartans, rejected Athens' demand that they support the war against Sparta. Following their victory, the Athenians killed all the Melian men, enslaving the women and children, apparently reasoning that successful rejection of their demands by so weak a foe would unleash a wave of rebellion throughout their empire.

The Melian Dialogue in Thucydides offers the classic account of the Athenian outlook. Meiggs and Littman provide useful modern interpretations of the dynamics of Athenian expansion. See Ducrey for the argument that residents of besieged city-states were frequently able to wring concessions from enemy commanders, saving themselves from enslavement or massacre, and that the Peloponnesian War was an exceptionally brutal war even by the standards of the ancient Greeks.

THE MONGOLS

Boyle, John Andrew, (ed.) (1968). The Cambridge History of Islam. Vol.5: The Saljuq and Mongol Periods. Cambridge: At The University Press. 763 pp.

Dawson, Christopher Henry (Ed.) (1955). The Mongol Mission: Narratives and Letters of the Franciscan Missionaries in Mongolia and China in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. Translated by a nun of Stanbrook Abbey. New York: Sheed and Ward. 246 pp.

Saunders, J.J. (1971). The History of the Mongol Conquests. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul. 275 pp.

Vernadsky, George (1953). The Mongols and Russia. New Haven: Yale University Press. 462 pp.

The Mongols, a nomadic people in Central Asia, were united in the thirteenth century under Ghengis Khan. He formed them into a superior fighting force with the best light cavalry in the world. Then he implemented his vision of conquering the world and uniting it. In order to facilitate his aim, he adopted a method of conquest by terror. He offered his potential subjects a choice of submission or total extermination, a threat that was ruthlessly carried out. The Mongols have gone down in history, as recorded by their victims, as bloodthirsty savages; but they were simply better at using methods that were in common use in their day. There is no evidence that they invented anything new.

Dawson contains the History of the Mongols by John of Plano Carpini, the Journey of William Rubruck, several letters and Papal bulls, and an important introduction by Dawson showing that the central Asian nomads were not quite as barbarous as their victims believed. New evidence and excavations reveal that they had their own ancient culture which was never entirely lost. Saunders provides us with a modern and balanced treatment of the Mongol empire and a Preface that gives us his critical survey of the literature. The first two chapters in Vernadsky provide a particularly clear and readable overview of the establishment of the Mongol empire, including the Yasa (law code), their arts of war, government and administration, post roads,

and the Pax Mongolia. Boyle is particularly relevant for details on Mongol destructiveness and population exterminations.

THE U.S.S.R.

Antonov-Ovseyenko, Anton (1981). The Time of Stalin: Portrait of a Tyranny. Translated from the Russian by George Saunders with an Introduction by Stephen F. Cohen. New York: Harper & Row. 374 pp.

Conquest, Robert (1968). The Great Terror: Stalin's Purge of the Thirties. New York: Macmillan. 633 pp.

_____ (1970). The Nation Killers: The Soviet Deportation of the Nationalities. New York: Macmillan. 222 pp.

_____ (1978). Kolyma: The Arctic Death Camps. New York: Viking. 254 pp.

Nekrich, Aleksandr M. (1978). The Punished Peoples: The Deportation and Fate of Soviet Minorities at the End of the Second World War. Translated from the Russian by George Saunders. New York: Norton. 238 pp.

The history of the U.S.S.R. under Stalin includes a number of genocidal killings. They are being dealt with in chapter 5 of this volume by James Mace. We mention Antonov-Ovseyenko here in spite of his shortcomings because he provides the reader with quantitative data on the losses among the army and the party elites, and several other victim groups. Nekrich contains much important data on the deportation of the nationalities, supported by a useful "Note on Sources." Conquest (1970) deals with the same topic and emphasizes how news about them was suppressed so that their fate became known only many years later. He not only quotes the UN Convention, but also the second edition of the Great Soviet Encyclopaedia, which describes genocide as "an offshoot of decaying imperialism." In his 1968 book, Conquest deals with the nineteen thirties in general, and in his 1978 book he deals with the Gulag. He shows how most prisoners in Kolyma were "enemies of the people", how the few criminals had much higher status in the camps which allowed them to act as oppressors rather than as fellow prisoners, and how few of the political prisoners had a chance to survive, although they had not officially been condemned to death.

THE GREAT WITCH-HUNT

Baschwitz, Kurt (1963). Hexen und Hexenprozesse: Die Geschichte des Massenwahn's und seiner Bekämpfung. München: Rütten & Loening Verlag. 480 pp.

Cohn, Norman (1975). Europe's Inner Demons: An Inquiry Inspired by the Great Witch-Hunt. New York: Basic Books. 304 pp.

Larner, Christina (1981). Enemies of God: The Witch-Hunt in Scotland. London: Chatto & Windus. 244 pp.

Baschwitz' book (Witches and Witch-Trials: The History of a Mass Delusion) is available only in German and French. It is important because he shows that from the beginning of the persecutions of the witches there were voices of sanity speaking out against the trials; but they were exposing themselves to persecution unless they wrote anonymously. According to Baschwitz, such mass delusions can flourish only where there is no free speech and where the law protecting individual rights is weak. Cohn's book is the authoritative work on the processes of demonizing victims leading up to the Great Witch-Hunt. He also encouraged Christina Larner to do her research on the witch-hunt in Scotland, research that led her to formulate her hypothesis on the relationship between new regimes trying to impose a new discipline on a recalcitrant population, systems of social control, and the persecution of demonic witches as enemies of God and the godly state.